THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

November 13, 1948

US ELECTION SCANDAL

AN EDITORIAL

Kaifeng To Soochow Journey

Hsu Shih-chen

Deterioration In Yunnan

Helen P. F. Shih

Inertia: One Hope For Peace

Jacques Decaux

DOUBTFUL LOGIC

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 111 GY5.00 NUMBER 11

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Wants Peace

To The Editor:

Recently there has been a bad phenomenon in the economic field reflecting the declining confidence of the people in the new currency. It is reported that the silver dollar has jumped over the Government-restricted prices in the blackmarket and that the trend is still upward. The public realizes that the new currency is depreciating. But no one would like to see the reformed currency reach the same end as the fapi. If GY notes reach the same finish as fapi, there will be more confusion than before.

It is for this reason that a great deal of attention has been paid to this economic movement which may decide the fate of China. The worsening military situation and the fact that prices are rising again have convinced merchants that it is better to hoard goods than money. This, of course, is very disheartening to those who were not pessimistic about the new currency which has been in existence only a couple of months.

The Government is taking strict measures and those who disobey Government regulations with regard to the new economic reform program may lose their lives. Thus killing, arresting, threatening and the existence of plain-clothed police have become the order of the day. In big cities like Shanghai, Nanking, and Hankow, trade has fallen off and sometimes there is even no daily food. In small cities far from the control of the Central Government, although the same strict laws apply, prices are skyrocketing in an uncontrolled manner that makes the people really wonder about the situation. The plight of poor people since the introduction of economic reform has consisted of a series of misfortunes and sufferings.

Of course the best solution for China to solve her troubles is to increase production, but it is well known that China cannot do this while a feverish civil war is going on at full swing. As things stand, we Chinese are wasting each day more than we can produce. Therefore the country cannot help but be in a situation where it is short of its requirements, and commodity prices will continue to go higher and higher. The Government is embarrassed by the tremendous expenditure for military purposes which is becoming heavier each day. This being the case, China's future is not bright. Now the greatest hope for us Chinese is to have peace which is more lovable than democracy. The people are longing for peace just as fish long for water. No matter how democratic or dictatorial the Government may be, if there is peace, the people will smile without anxiety.

Of what use is a glorious victory if there are no people living at the time of victory to enjoy it?

WU CHUNG-SAN

Changsha, Hunan
October 18, 1948

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Students For Peace

To The Editor:

I am 17, a second year student in a middle school. I am greatly interested in learning English but it is difficult for me to learn it well. Our English class uses your *Review* and from the magazine we have received knowledge not only of English but of many new ideas both in politics and economics.

It is now nearly 30 years since the "May 4 Movement" took place. We may remember that in that time there was a violent revolution going on both in our civilization and in our political life. The "May 4 Movement" is a glorious page in the history of the Chinese Student Movement. It is a movement to free all of us; the chains of feudalism were broken by it. Therefore, we are all proud of that movement.

After that movement, many intellectuals were alarmed; even secondary school students realized that there was no way for China except by applying the democratic system to make China a prosperous country. But facts do not always correspond to ideas. So though many student movements have arisen and spread all over the country, they have been suppressed by the Government. Students learned many valuable lessons from this suppression; one such lesson was that to act is actually more worthwhile than high sounding talk. So the students began to act on behalf of society.

Since VJ day and the beginning of the Civil War, thousands and thousands of our people have been suffering through the high cost of living and inflation. Because of the inflation, many schools are inaccessible to students. Students are discontented with present conditions. That is why they are demanding an end to the civil war and the introduction of the new democracy system into China.

Although the National Assembly has opened and established a Constitution, the realization of the articles of the Constitution is still a dream.

Have you heard that recently good students are called "Red Spies" and have you seen them arrested or checked in their activities? I am obliged to ask the Government how they think they can stop this student agitation. Every time a student outbreak quiets down, a Government spokesman says, "The nerves of the students are too sensitive and must be made calm. It is necessary to consider the matter carefully." Even some of the officers of the schools have been known to remark that the students are changing greatly. I do not think that the students are changing but that the Government's policy has changed.

It goes without saying that we intellectuals have only one hope and that is, settle the Civil War very soon. Such a course would not only benefit us but all the people of China as well.

WANG PENG

October 16, 1948
Ichang, Hupeh

Dance Ban

To The Editor:

It came as no surprise to the people of Shanghai to learn that the Government is to enforce a ban on dancing, starting from December 1, 1948. This is the second time in the past two years that such an order has been announced. This time, however, our Government seems to be serious.

In our opinion, the order is illogical. The ballrooms in Shanghai date back to over a generation ago. More than 200,000 people depend on them for a living, and who, having no training in other means of support, would be thrown on the

community as beggars and prostitutes. This would do more harm than good to the maintenance of social order, which is the original aim of the ban.

Aside from the humanitarian point of view, the city will suffer financially. Revenue will be cut, and social welfare work will be curtailed for lack of funds. Then, with one more amusement denied them, many of the wealthy will move to such places as Hongkong and Singapore where they can enjoy themselves freely and spend their money as they wish. Indeed, this movement is already in progress.

We consider dancing a noble and healthful amusement. There is nothing immoral or wrong about it. People enjoy dancing, and they cannot be stopped from enjoying themselves by a mere decree. There are so many worse things to be wiped out, such as prostitution, which our Government has never even protested against. When things are in such disorder and most people are on the verge of hunger and death, it is to be hoped that the Government will refrain from creating more destitute Shanghai citizens. All that can be gained from this unreasonable order is the empty moral satisfaction of a few dried up, creaky, so-called faithful followers of Confucius who, unfortunately, remain in high positions in the Central Government.

H. P. KAO

Shanghai,
October 28, 1948.

US Power

To The Editor:

In response to your editorial headed, "Intervention Headache," which appeared in your esteemed *Review* of October 16 on pages 175-176, I take the liberty of offering my ideas which I hope you will publish.

1. During the most critical period of Russia's life-and-death struggle with Germany, America expended a tremendous amount of money materials to keep Russia from extermination. Now that Russia has grown strong, she is acting against her benefactor in every respect.

2. At the time of Japan's surrender, the Chinese Communists were too weak to defeat the Chinese Government's Army and America has exerted every effort to stop the Government from finishing off the Communists. Because the Communists grew a little stronger they began to play off Russia against America.

3. America discarded all the losses inflicted upon her by Japan and is now losing no time in rehabilitating her.

4. The Chinese Government has fought for America's interests during the last war and is now fighting with all her might against the Communists—the enemy built up by America. Since America fought for the Philippines and is rehabilitating Japan without hesitation or fear, why does she not do the same for the Chinese Government?

5. The aid extended to China hardly compares to American aid to Russia during the war and aid to Japan now.

If America wishes to eliminate the Communist threat in Asia she could easily accomplish this by applying her full power to smashing the Communists with one stroke.

HSU CHIEN-KUO

Liuchow, Kwangsi
October 22, 1948

GY In Hongkong

To The Editor:

As one of your correspondents predicted four weeks ago, the Gold Yuan has collapsed in the market of international exchange. The decline is rapid. No one knows what the value will be

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when this letter reaches you.

Among other causes, are mentioned the sale by Nanking's favored familes of GY3,000,000 for American dollars, and the corruption of the Chinese Maritime Customs, ever since Chang Fu-yun came down from Nanking. The Customs officers are protecting the influx of Gold Yuan to Hongkong, with the approval of Nanking. While Chang Fu-yun has announced the confiscation of Chan Hung-kit's 145 taels of gold seized on a train while it was on British soil, his men are permitting tens of million's of dollars' worth of cargo to get by them without making the slightest effort to enforce the law. Another cause was the rumor that there was a mutiny in Canton among soldiers of the 156th Division. The frequent reports of disastrous defeats in the North are also responsible for the Gold Yuan's decline.

An additional cause that gives Nanking very poor credit is the publication of the "Stilwell Papers" by the *China Mail*. This publicity, supported by authentic and reliable sources, proves as true the allegation that the Kuomintang was double-crossing the Allies during World War II. It repudiates the thesis as propounded in *China's Destiny*, that China under the KMT was responsible for the allied victory in World War II. Conversely, Stilwell definitely recorded that traitors and double-crossers of the allied cause were ruling Chungking:

Records of trials of collaborators and war criminals have revealed that China was secretly negotiating a separate peace when things were going against the Allies. There has not been any repudiation from China's laadership on this point. The fact that the Kuomintang and the Communists were accusing each other of being quitters was no proof that either one was innocent. Now that the truth is gradually coming out. Terrorism and suppression of facts would in no way convince the public that they should place their unconditional confidence in a ruler so exposed.

FENG TAK-KUNG

Hongkong
October 24, 1948

One Month

To The Editor:

I have been a reader of the *China Weekly Review* for only one month but I have become a sincere reader because this publication has much value in the present world.

It can really point out what is right or wrong and what is heavy or light when it deals with news. No matter what changes are taking place in this country, your magazine always reflects public opinion from all over the nation. It also gives the opinions of the foreigners.

I would like to advise everyone who is interested in studying English to always read the *Review*. It not only can increase their knowledge but also their contact with the English language.

MAO LI.

Sian, Shensi
October 28, 1948

Education Reform

To The Editor:

I have recently read two articles on education; one entitled "China's Educational Crisis" in your September 25 issue of the *Review* by Professor Wang Chin-jen and the other, "Education and Politics," in the October 16 issue of the *Observer* by Professor Sin Ta-chien. I have compared the two with care and interest and, at the risk of being accused of "teaching my grandmother to suck eggs," would like to comment on some of Professor Wang's points with which I cannot agree.

(1) China is lagging far behind the modern world in almost everything, education, of course, being no exception. No one can deny the fact that China's education is facing a crisis and that this crisis can be at least partly blamed on Government educational policies and on politics. Professor Wang merely deplores the lax attitude of the college authorities, but it seems to me that the matter goes deeper than that. If the lives of the students were not disrupted by national political and economic strife, they would be very willing to apply themselves vigorously to learning. However, how can they be expected to be enthusiastic about taking examinations when they know they will be left in the cold after graduation? If the country offered them some prospects of leading a stable, productive life, they would have little time or inclination for political demonstrations.

(2) Yes, I am all in favor of rebuilding our educational system, but not exactly along the lines that Professor Wang prescribes: "to create law-abiding students and to ask the students to cooperate with the Government in finding a solution to existing problems." That is putting the cart before the horse. Good education must be independent of any government, must be free to inquire, learn and criticize. If the Government really wants to foster a high standard of college education it should do the following: (a) cast aside its fear of cultivating the spirit of independence and freedom of teaching and learning among professors and students; (b) provide sufficient funds to run colleges and universities properly; (c) raise professors' salaries and plan for the future employment of students; (d) allow educationalists to run the schools, and kick out all party members or government appointees with axes to grind. These things must be done if we are to rebuild our educational system along worthwhile lines.

P. Y. W.

Pucheng, Shensi
October 22, 1948.

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US Election Scandal

PRESIDENT Truman's success at the polls last week emphasizes the failure of a large section of the US press to divorce itself from special interests and to perform its supposedly traditional service to the public. While the scandalous activities of certain publications were evident during the entire pre-election campaign, some of the really disgraceful antics of a few so-called organs of public opinion are just now coming to light.

In commenting critically upon the press, we naturally are not objecting to those papers or magazines which openly backed Dewey in their editorials. They supported the Republican candidate either because they felt Dewey would make the best president or because they wished to be on the "winning side," since it seemed "obvious" almost to everybody that Truman did not have a chance.

However, many papers, news agencies and magazines failed to distinguish between their editorial columns and their news columns, printing the rankest kind of pro-Republican propaganda in columns supposedly reserved for news of interest and importance to the reading public. One of the most outstanding examples of twisted, opinionated writing seen in the United States was to be found in numerous pre-election issues of *Time Magazine*. While *Time* has no editorial section and relies upon "slanted" news stories to get across its point of view, it outdid itself in covering the election campaign. Dewey was pictured as honest, efficient, intelligent, etc., while Truman was represented as weak, indecisive, snarling and intellectually unimpressive. Personally, we can imagine many an independent voter turning with revulsion from *Time's* coverage and voting for Truman with a vengeance. Presumably, Henry Luce and his editors had a busy time chewing and digesting quite a sizable stack of magazines last week.

The *Madison Capital Times*, published in Madison, Wisconsin, pointed out way back last summer that in many cases the *United Press* and *Associated Press* were glamorizing reactionary congressmen by peddling "rank publicity handouts" while suppressing more significant and legitimate news items which reflect unfavorably against them. The *Times*, according to a recent issue of *In Fact*, a publication dealing largely with the shortcomings of the US press, charged that both *UP* and *AP* tried to build up Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin, by sending out phony stories describing how the Senator took a trip to North Dakota's wheat fields to help in the threshing, how he drives around Washington alone at night picking up homeless veterans for whom he finds houses, etc. The wire services, the *Capital Times* stated, failed to show such interest in the Senator when he was charged with evading income tax payments of US$43,000 in stock market profits.

Another example cited by the *Capital Times* was the case of Representative J. Parnell Thomas of the Un-American Activities Committee who "sits in judgment on the character and patriotism of hundreds of American citizens while he himself has been padding his payroll to get more money from the Federal Government than he has coming. "Our news services," the paper continued, "make a lot of hoopla over the victims of Mr. Thomas's smear campaigns, but they would never, under any circumstances, let the people know of the sordid background of the person who is responsible for the smear campaign."

Another story worthy of prominence, especially in an election year, was the account of the Federal Grand Jury hearings in Detroit investigating charges that Michigan Republicans have been violating the Corrupt Practices Act by soliciting illegal campaign funds, mostly by assessing automobile dealers one dollar for each car sold. This story was ignored by virtually all of the nation's newspapers. Finally, the *CIO News*, organ of the CIO labor union, published it and a couple of weeks later columnist Drew Pearson devoted part of one column to it. However, it was cut out of Pearson's main paper, the *New York Daily Mirror*.

It is a recognized fact that more and more newspapers in America are getting to be big business organizations themselves and that their publishers tend to react to political issues in much the same manner as regular corporation presidents, rather than as members of the Fourth Estate and holders of a public trust. According to *Editor and Publisher*, US publishers' trade journal, of the 1,750 commercial dailies in the United States, the vast majority supported Candidate Dewey, who had a four to one lead over Truman with 68.68 percent of all dailies giving him their support. Truman had 16.16 percent of the nation's press behind him at that time. However, Dewey later increased his lead as this survey, made in September, did not include the Hearst or Scripps-Howard newspaper chains which were for Dewey.

While the majority of American publishers are not violating any laws when they support candidates who are for vastly reduced taxes for

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PUTS G.O.P. BACK IN THE WHITE HOUSE

The polls were off...so were some headlines.

The *Chicago Sun-Times* reprinted part of the front page of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* as it appeared on November 3, the day after the American elections. The *Tribune* was an ardent supporter of Dewey for President and, basing its headline on very early election returns, announced to the public that Dewey had won the election.

large corporations and who recommend only fractionally reduced taxes for those individuals falling in the lowest taxable income brackets, they are, in our opinion, ceasing to render the public service which Americans may expect of their press. This is especially true when the editors and publishers allow their views to influence their news columns, either in the selection of particular items for prominent display or for omission or in the publication of obviously slanted, partially or wholly untrue accounts of events.

The election of Truman should be an eye-opener to the American press. For nearly 20 years now the defeated candidate has been the one favored by the majority of the US press. This fact alone should indicate to US publishers how far their opinions diverge from those of the people. Further, it should cause these owners of public opinion moulding media to wonder at the effectiveness of their organs. Traditionally, the average American citizen is supposed to get his political ideas and shape his views from reading his daily newspaper. It would appear that this is no longer the case.

The US press and the public opinion polls guessed wrong on this election. There is a lesson to be learned. The poll takers have to be right to stay in business. We imagine that they will profit by the lesson. However, we wonder about the editors, who for 20 years have vainly urged the electorate to vote for the defeated candidate. We suppose it is entirely possible that they can continue believing that all the rest of the world is wrong for another 20 years.

Wallace Won In China

IN our last pre-election issue (October 30) we printed an election ballot, listing the three main candidates running for President of the United States, and asked our readers to indicate the man they favored most. The results were most disappointing in the amount of response, but we believe that to be mainly due to our tardiness in getting out the ballot, rather than to indifference upon the part of our readers. In any event the fact remains that we received by far the smallest response from readers to date. We received only 43 ballots, 34 of which were marked for Wallace and nine of which were marked for Dewey, with President Truman, the acutal winner in America, receiving not a single solitary vote.

Admittedly our poll was a failure and little in the way of conclusions can be drawn from it since the time we allowed was so short that only a few readers were able to get their ballots in by the deadline. However, the fact that Wallace was so far out in front and that Truman failed to receive any votes at all, is interesting, we think.

Wallace, it would appear, was popular with readers because of his many statements to the effect that the United States should stop prolonging the Civil War by aiding the Nationalist Government, while Dewey came in for favorable attention from those who desire more aid which, presumably, would enhance the present uncertain chances of the Nationalists. Truman, the guy who tried to mediate the Civil War and who later refused to give aid and who still later gave a little when under Republican pressure, was

apparently disliked by both. For those who favored Wallace, Truman was responsible for too much aid; for those who favored Dewey's promises of increased aid, Truman was apparently disliked for the smallness of the Democratic Administration's help.

As we said, little can be drawn on the basis of our poll. However, as members of that section of the American public which feels that the United States Government is all wet in its present China policy, it's still interesting.

Doubtful Logic

A RECENT Washington dispatch quoted a US State Department specialist as complaining bitterly about the Soviet Union's propaganda regarding colonial areas, or as the specialist put it, "non-self-governing countries."

The criticism of Russia was along the following line, "the Soviets at every turn, in practically every UN organ, have voiced a relentless and completely irresponsible criticism of (the Colonial powers') every act as administrators. The issue has been complicated because the Soviet policy of condemning and embarrassing the administrative powers elicits the unwitting support of countries such as China, the Philippines, India, the Arab states and Latin American republics which, because of their own history, have quite a genuine concern in the well-being of the 200,000,000 people who do not yet govern themselves."

The State Department specialist on colonial areas then went on to cite the "logic and consistency" of the United States position, which she described as "based on the belief that the necessary political, economic and social advancement of dependent peoples and their eventual achievement of self-government or independence should be attained within the framework of the United Nations."

While we would not deny the obvious fact that the Russians have used the colonial question as a convenient peg on which to hang a lot of propaganda, we do not think that there is much to be gained by attacking the Russians as if they were all that is wrong with colonialism. It would be far better for the West, including the United States, we think, to admit frankly that the colonial problem is a skeleton in our closet and then tell people what we are doing to get rid of colonialism. The attitude of immediately getting our back up whenever the Russians level an accusation at us and yelling that it is all Red propaganda is childish. After all, our society is far from perfect, just as is the Russians', and, just as we can point to many weak spots in Russia's system of government, so can the Russians see our imperfections.

For anyone to state publicly that China, the Philippines, India, the Arab states and Latin American republics have "unwittingly" been taken in by this Russian propaganda about colonies indicates a most abysmal lack of historical knowledge. There were agitations against colonialism long before the Soviet revolution in Russia and, in fact, before the birth of Karl Marx, in 1818. In China, for example, there have been demonstrations against the policies of the colonial powers, both in China and in other places in Asia, for many decades. This certainly is no new thing brought about by Russian propaganda. It would also be futile to argue, we think, that China must stop her criticism of Western colonial powers now that Russia has begun voicing the same criticism.

The question of whether or not the Russian criticism is irresponsible is one we can't answer. The State Department apparently thinks it is. The question remains, however, that there is plenty to criticize and, from all indications, there will be for some time to come.

The "logic and consistency" of America's position regarding non-self-governing peoples, is "proved" by the reviewing of American colonial policy toward our own colonies such as the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, etc. True, America's record in the Philippines is *by comparison* good, but otherwise it is not so hot. A lot of Filipinos do not think that the Americans are great white fathers and do not thank the US for its occupation. And such Filipinos are not necessarily Communists, either.

The US has been faced with only minor colonial problems, due partially to the fact that America became a world power too late to grab much and also because of the strong objections of the American people who once had a taste of colonialism from the receiving end and did not care much for the idea. Thus, it is avoiding the main issues to cite the few piddling instances of US colonialism. What, for instance, does Guam mean to us? It has a military value and for that very reason we intend to keep a strong naval and air base there. However, economically and politically, it is a burden and we would like to be rid of it. When one analyzes the position of the US toward any of its "colonies," one finds that America does what suits herself best. We are a rich country and find that those colonies which we have held in the past have been economic burdens and political headaches. Therefore, we are trying to get rid of them as fast as possible, reserving the right in certain ones to erect formidable defence bases. We want the good without the bad.

France and Holland, the two worst examples of Western colonial nations to be found in Asia today, also look at the matter realistically. They are both poor, impoverished, war-ravaged nations accustomed to economic, military and political positions of eminence in Europe. They have attained such stature in the past partially through the regular sucking of profits from colonial holdings abroad. Neither country, on the basis of natural resources, population or industrial development is actually of much more importance than some of the larger American states, but with a few millions of sweating natives grinding out profits on estates scattered throughout backward countries in various parts of the world, they have lived pretty well.

Naturally, the Dutch are going to fight pretty hard to retain their grip. The same holds true of the French in Indo-China.

While these two countries will never vacate their overseas empires willingly, there is one country—a country which in the past continually spoke out against colonialism—which has the power to force the French and Dutch out of their colonies in Asia. This is not Russia, but the United States. During the war we more or less promised to help the Indo-Chinese and Indonesians gain their freedom, but since VJ Day and the consequent cold war with Russia in Europe, we have been more concerned with bolstering the tottering economies of Holland and France and have forgotten the colonial problem. We have even supplied arms to the French and Dutch in their attempts to subdue their respective colonies in Asia by force since the end of the war.

It is our considered opinion that the aforementioned State Department specialist in problems of "non-self-governing areas" ("colonies" to those with stronger stomachs) has done a poor job of justifying a poor policy. We cannot see how independence movements in colonial areas are per se communist uprisings; we cannot see how Chinese and Filipino criticism of the colonial policies of the West are the result of communist propaganda. In any event we're all for the critics and as to whether or not it's the communist line? We couldn't care less.

TRUMAN'S "VICTORY BREW"

This cartoon, printed before election day in America, presents one of President Truman's chief ingredients in his campaign for re-election. It shows him belaboring the Republican dominated Congress' "do-nothing" special session early this summer.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

November 10, 1923

Spasmodic Interest

A Chinese banker in Peking once made the statement that American businessmen become tremendously interested in China about once in every seven years. They become tremendously active for a couple of years and then they lose interest and either permit the branch offices which they have established to die out altogether or give them such poor support that they are unable to carry any weight in the international competition which exists out here....Of course, the spasmodic elements which have been present in America's commercial relations with China have had their causes in the economics of the homeland more than anywhere else. When trade was slack at home the American merchant, in order to find markets for surplus production, was accustomed to looking abroad and naturally China received her share of the attention. But when trade picked up at home, the market was always so great that foreign trade was not necessary, hence the loss of interest in the foreign market.

* * *

Get Busy

All over China, here and there, evidence of industrial progress may be found. Indeed, those of you who have not travelled extensively would be surprised at the extent of the progress which has taken place. On the other hand, only a start has been made and much greater work remains to be done. The Chinese people and foreign friends in China should cooperate; they should not only criticize but get busy and help. They should have faith in this great country, rich in resources, manpower and endowed with a splendid old culture, and show their faith in practical activities.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

November 12, 1938

Line Of Attack

The Japanese have before them a dangerous but highly profitable line of attack if they should choose to use it. In simple terms it is this: instead of pursuing the profitless conquest of interior China, Japan might simply take over the imperialist position of Britain on the coast—which in turn controls the whole interior economy. If Japan were able to squeeze the British out of China and inherit their position there, her gains would be far greater than merely pursuing an interminable pacification of the disrupted interior. This can be achieved by isolating Shanghai and Hongkong from the interior, thus starving out British interests.

* * *

Molotov Speaks

The Third International, professed chief object of hatred of the promoters of the anti-Comintern bloc, urged the early convocation of an international workers conference—to organize defense for the people's liberty in Spain and China. Speakers declared that the Second World War is already on and Molotov said that a second imperialistic empire has been started in the immense area extending from Gibraltar to Shanghai. He declared that while the various imperialist powers are giving various pretexts for their weakness before the aggressor, "they actually do not wish to seriously intervene against this aggressor because what they fear most is a workers' movement."

DETERIORATION IN YUNNAN

Helen P. F. Shih

"NO country exists that has not passed through its 'darkest hour' in history, and it is to be hoped that ours will likewise pass and that we will enjoy a peaceful and happy life on the next Double Tenth Day." This is what I said last year in commemoration of the 36th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of China. Contrary to our hopes, China is still in the throes of war and Yunnan is in a state of deterioration. In the plenary session of the Yunnan Council in May of this year, Governor Lu Han said that it was more important to keep Yunnan peaceful than to show progress in development, although he promised that he would lead the province along a progressive path in the course of winning the Civil War.

Red Threat

Chinese history shows that if the farmers are squeezed dry by heavy taxes, conscription, and corruption, the only course open to them is to "climb up Liang Mountain"—to become robbers like the heroes in "Shui Fu," a famous novel of the Sung Dynasty. This year, the hardships imposed on the farmers have been unusually great. In spite of the fact that in 77 hsien many farmers were made homeless through floods, the Central Government ordered this province to recruit 20,000 able-bodied men (4,000 were to make up last year's quota); in addition the Government ordered the collection of 2,500,000 piculs of rice not including an additional 450,000 piculs for the support of hsien civil servants. This was not all. In connection with the program for eliminating the "bandits" in the province, the Provincial Government began imposing a "self-defense tax" each month to strengthen the four Provincial Preservation Corps and the different hsien militia. Past experience shows that the rich are usually exempted from taxes, duties and conscription but that the poor offer their strength and money (as in the war against Japan).

The poor, too, must pay whatever the Government demands. Under such conditions discontent is certain to flourish and there are good opportunities for breeding rebellion. Through his preaching of the gospel of "communism", Chu Shia-pi, Chief of the Yunnan Reds (See "Red Star over Yunnan" by Galahad Wood in the *Review*, July 31, 1948—Editor), has succeeded in organizing the strong "Yunnan People's First Column of Anti-Chiang Kai-shek — and Democratic Self-Saving Army." Many poor people are joining his group rather than serving under the Government in the Civil War.

The story of two girl students in Kwanan who joined Chu's army, and then returned to the city where they were detained in jail and beaten, stirred the people's wrath. People were quick to point out that when the Reds occupied the city for two days, they never put their fingers on anything owned by the people and did nothing against any of them. People talked with each other, openly saying, "We are willing to be lao pai hsing under the reign of Chu Chia-pi who treated us very kindly and who is the enemy of the rich class only."

Separatist Movement

Ever since the looting of quantities of ammunition and materials from several hsien in the south, there has been an increase in the numbers joining the Reds commanded by Cheng Jen-sun, who is responsible for the "Chen-ping hsien Government" (in Kwangsi), with Lo Jih-huei, the Commander of the "Democratic Union Army of the Yunnan-Kweichow-Kwangsi Border Region", and with the Vietnam Government in Indo-China. A communique of the Yunnan Provincial Garrison Headquarters said that the "bandits" captured the city of Kiangcheng hsien in the south on September 21. At the time of writing this article, the "bandits" were attacking the city of Luliang. In addition, the *Observer Daily*, reported on September 9 that Chang Chung, Yunnanese Communist General, sent Lieutenant-General Tzeng Chi-tsai, his former subordinate, to Yuan-kiang hien in the south to organize the native "bandits.' The local Reds in Lungkiang, Lukiang, Pu-shuan and Moonliu in the west, with the cooperation of the Burmese Reds, have organized the "Red Army" in Tenchung and Lungling hsien on the Burma border. Meanwhile, the "bandits" or local Reds have grown in strength and in number in almost all areas throughout Yunnan. The four Too Sy (traditional tribal officers in charge of their people) in the west, struggling for independence, have organized "The Independent Designing Committee for Bi Yi (a tribal group) in Szechuen-Sikang-Yunnan." It is reported that they, together with the Burmese Too Sy group, would like to establish the "United States of Mantze (Lolo) of Nan Chao". (Nan Chao was an old title for one of the six Mantze States which had its capital at Tali hsien in West Yunnan during the T'ang Dynasty.) This separation movement is regarded by many officials as a great threat to local security.

In some hsiens in Yunnan to be a magistrate is a very difficult job for

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nearly all the pao chia chiefs in the villages or townlets disobey orders. If the magistrate tries to force compliance, the chiefs will often rebel against the Government and become "bandits" or local Reds. A few months ago, the Special Commissioner of the First Area in Yunnan led a battalion (about 400 soldiers) of the Peace-Preservation Corps to Chang-shong hsien in the east in order to suppress a group trafficking in opium. This battalion was greeted at a great distance from the city by 700-odd armed opium-planters carrying modern machine guns, rifles and pistols. The Commissioner was forced to talk "business" with the opium-planters through the local go-betweens who shared in the profits from the sale of opium.

* * *

Among the magistrates, representatives to the National Assembly, councillors to the Hsien and Provincial Councils, there is a constant struggle to maintain power. Jong Kwang-han, magistrate of King-ping hsien in the south, killed Wen Chiang-lu, representative to the National Assembly, on a cooked-up charge. Whether or not Wen was "self-elected" or "elected" by the people, in accordance with the "democratic constitution," his freedom should have been guaranteed. Is it not a crime when a man in office simply kills anyone he dislikes and wants to get rid of? It is very strange that the magistrate, a few days later, was reported to have died of sickness. However, to the Government, this was only a "storm in a teacup."

With present conditions as they are, how can Yunnan remain peaceful and make progress? Some observers make the satirical remark that the only "reconstruction" done by the Government so far has been the repaving of Chen I Road, Nan Ping Street, Ming Sun and Ming Chiuan Road which are already showing signs of the poor quality of the paving work.

Corruption Accepted

To the common people, corruption is not news since it is a common occurrence in China. Meanwhile, the people say that both the Central and local governments always permit and, in some cases, even encourage the existence of corruption. Anyone who knows a little about Yunnan realizes that the courts are a source of woe here. It is very easy to pick a typical example. According to all the vernacular papers and periodicals, Sun Hsi-tsung, Commissioner of the Yunnan High Court and concurrently the Chief of the Yunnan Special Criminal Court, not only "sold" various judgeships to the highest bidder but also "devoured" the money set aside for food for the prisoners. The following is one instance of Sun's corruption.

Chow Li-tze, ex-magistrate of Meanling hsien in the west, was accused of murdering the Speaker of the Meanling Hsien Council; he was also accused of corruption. In April 1947, Chow was sentenced to imprisonment by the Kunming Court. On June 18, 1947, Chow was set free on bail for CNC$50,000,000 on the pretext of illness. Despite public clamor, Yang Hung-tao, the judge of the Kunming Court who had handled the case was sentenced to 12 years in prison in March 1948 in order to whitewash Sun's corruption. In return, Yang accused Sun, Commissioner of the Yunnan High Court and now chief of the Yunnan Special Criminal Court, of having accepted Chow's bribe. Yang further said that Sun was the chief plotter behind the scenes who had authorized him to free Chow and to keep him out of jail when the bailiff surrendered the prisoner in court. Yang proved the truth of all his accusations. This immediately created a stir among those interested in justice who sent open petitions to the Central Government demanding Sun's dismissal and punishment. The petitions also insisted that Yang, the judge, should not suffer as Sun's scapegoat. Ignoring the peoples' request, the Central Government simply transferred Sun to the post of Commissioner of Kan High Court, and no attempt was made to punish Sun who is still in Kunming.

* * *

In an attempt to stop inflation and speed up the "bandit suppression movement," the Central Government instituted its program of currency reform. Making use of this "reform opportunity," speculators made a great profit. For example, Lih Da-ying, General Manager of the Kunming Central Bank, delayed for four days the announcement that all kinds of CNC, nickel, copper and subsidiary coins were to be used as GY coins and cooperating with Chu Wen-pao, owner of the Lao Fu Yuan Gold Shop and General Manager of the Ta Yu Bank who is concurrently Chairman of the Gold Guild, collected coins at the cheapest prices obtainable in Kunming and nearby hsiens.

Civil Servants' Plight

Meanwhile, the Government is paying civil servants and salaried men only 80 percent of their new monthly salaries. These people have become victims of the currency reform and are suffering heavily. It has been reported that this province has been ordered to discharge civil servants in all Government organizations in order to reduce expenses and balance the national budget. Where will these dismissed civil servants go? What will they do?

* * *

According to manifestos issued by the Student Federation of North China and circulated secretly in Kunming, the student disturbances in July in Kunming are one of the greatest tragedies ever to happen in the history of the student movement. It is reported that a larger number of students were killed as a result of this incident than during the "July 5 incident" in Peiping.

We are not sure whether this information is accurate or not because of the news blockade. However, it is true that all students participating in the Student Self-Governing Bodies of the different schools were dismissed by confidential order of the Department of Education. In this connection it is of interest to note that nothing more has been heard about the 73 students, teachers, and the former principal of the Nan Ch'ing Middle School, Wei Tze-shing, who were supposed to be tried at the Special Criminal Court early in September. People are hoping that this group will not meet the same fate as those killed in Miou Gaw Temple, located several miles from Kunming on a mountain outside the west gate. During the period of intimidating the Democratic League and reorganizing the Yunnan Government in 1945, General Ho Quei-chang, Ex-Commander of the Yunnan Provincial Garrison Headquarters, used the Temple as a central camp for eliminating large numbers of "unloyal" and "traitorous elements."

A short while ago, this writer visited the Temple and had a talk with the head monk who said that there were many "redress-for-grievance-ghosts" who always made "big invisible noises." The monks say that sometimes they can hear these noises clearly. Even in the daytime the monks can see the basins on the shelves fly in the air over the courtyard. No monk dares live in the back palace which was used as a slaughter house; all prefer to live in the front palace. This, of course, is a silly superstition, but the attitude of the monks establishes the fact that many people were killed on the premises.

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United States Information Service In China

(This report on the United States Information Service's activities in China was prepared by USIS at our request.—Editor)

FACTS speak for themselves, but sometimes they have a hard time being heard above a din of distorted propaganda, half truths and downright falsehoods. To make sure that the facts about America speak loudly enough to be heard in this section of the globe is the job of the United States Information Service in China.

Every major power in the world today has developed some form of information program as an adjunct to its diplomatic relations with other countries. These have taken different forms in different countries, depending on underlying political and social traditions. The American version as represented by USIS is a relative newcomer to the world scene.

It was under the compulsion of World War II, when America found it necessary to wage war with ideas as well as with bullets, that the United States first launched a large-scale information program. That experience showed that hostile propaganda could be met effectively only by a straightforward, factual representation of the American way of life and American objectives.

When World War II ended, it was at first taken for granted that the need for such a program would be lessened. The course of world events proved otherwise. Other nations were engaging in intensive propaganda campaigns, some of them aimed at misrepresenting the aims and policies of the United States. Meanwhile the war-time Voice of America had been permitted to drop to little more than a whisper.

The Congressional Smith-Mundt committee, after touring Europe and visiting most of the USIS offices there reported: "Hundreds of millions are being expended by the Soviets; and the United Kingdom, although heavily in debt, supports a program employing some 8,700 persons as against our less than 1,400 and costing three times as much as ours. Even little Holland is spending nearly a quarter of a million dollars this year, and spent half a million last year in the United States alone to defend and explain her policies."

The need for an expanded information and educational exchange program was pointed up more than ever by the rising tide of Communist propaganda. As the Committee stated, "It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Soviets and Communists are today conducting psychological warfare against us in order thoroughly to discredit us and drive us out of Europe."

More money was appropriated to carry on the work. The Department of State was given the responsibility and instructed by President Truman "to see that other peoples receive a full and fair picture of American life."

In the Department of State, the program is carried on by the Office of International Information and the Office of Educational Exchange. USIS is the field agency which carries on the functions of both these offices under the direction of American diplomatic and consular missions abroad.

In China, USIS has a staff of fifteen Americans scattered throughout the country. With the assistance of Chinese staff members, they operate a headquarters in Shanghai, and branch offices in Nanking, Peiping, Mukden, Tientsin, Hankow, Chungking, Canton and Taipei. Small libraries also are in operation at Tihwa and Kunming. Together they comprise the largest USIS operation in the world.

Here's what they do:

News

Daily from the Department of State in Washington a wireless bulletin is transmitted to China. It contains such items as statements by the President, the Secretary of State, and other high government officials, accounts of actions taken by Congress and roundups of American editorial comment. This news file is received in Shanghai, translated, broadcast to the other USIS offices throughout China and distributed after mimeographing.

In addition to this, USIS prints in Chinese a bi-monthly newsletter containing reprints of significant articles in every field relating to America. This goes to more than 15,000 schools, universities, newspapers and individuals. Frequently bi-lingual supplements, useful to Chinese students of English, are appended.

Although both the daily news file and the newsletter reach all of China's 600 big and little daily newspapers, they serve thousands of other users who receive them in English or Chinese. They are designed not as a spot news service to substitute for regular commercial agencies but as supplementary information which may be used as reference and interpretative material. Thus they have a wide following among teachers, students, government officials, businessmen and others who require reliable and up-to-date sources of official and semi-official information about America.

Libraries

In Shanghai, with an estimated population of more than 5,000,000 persons, the USIS library on the ground floor of the Development Building is the only place where a wide selection of American books and magazines is available for free loan. This same situation exists in the nine other Chinese cities where USIS libraries are established. They draw some 40,000 visitors per month and the figure is climbing all the time.

Movies

Approximately 1,000,000 persons per month all over China see USIS films and learn something of what America is like. USIS has no strictly entertainment-type films. All are documentaries on educational and technical subjects and the majority have commentaries in Mandarin. They are shown to schools, universities and government and business groups, and they cover such broad topics as: agriculture, art, biology, business, commerce and industry, chemistry, dentistry, education, engineering, sports, history, libraries, medical science, music, natural resources, political science, physics, public health, science, travel and United States life.

USIS also has a number of filmstrips on similar titles used mostly in rural schools impossible to reach with motion pictures.

Posters And Exhibits

These are seen by probably 15,000,000 persons per month and are largely turned out on presses left over from OWI psychological warfare work. A poster exhibit on US election processes, for example, shown on the eve of China's first national election was seen in Mukden alone by about 2,000,000 people. Posters explaining the work of the China Relief Mission (predecessor to ECA), what it did and where the money came from (i.e. the American taxpayer) were displayed in every rice shop in the five coastal cities where CRM food was rationed.

Besides this the posters are sent by mail to remote areas of China as the "poor man's newspaper" to tell the farmers in pictures something of America.

Radio

The Voice of America is beamed to China and the Far East daily with special programs in Chinese. Records are loaned to radio stations in the large cities, weekly record concerts are given by USIS offices for the benefit of music lovers.

Exchange Of Persons

The US Educational Foundation in China with headquarters in Nanking was created last year through the Fulbright Agreement which earmarks US$20,000,000 derived from the sale of surplus war equipment to be used to send American teachers, students and specialists to China, and Chinese teachers and students to America.

USIS in China also assists American visitors in gathering material for professional work, aids Chinese and American newsmen in obtaining information, interviews and gives advice to students, promotes interest in cultural exchanges, and otherwise attempts to develop close Sino-American relations.

Kaifeng To Soochow Journey

Hsu Shih-chen

Soochow, October 5.

JUST after the Middle Autumn Festival, while the people of Kaifeng were still enjoying the season's festivities, the news of the danger to Tsinan made its appearance and served as a damper on much of the celebrating.

To me, this news meant that the fall of Tsinan would threaten Hsuchow and this in turn might eventually lead to the discontinuation of communication lines between Kaifeng and Soochow. Thus, I quickly resolved to get my books and baggage together and leave for Soochow, where my school is located.

On September 21, at five in the morning I, accompanied by several schoolmates, set out for the railroad station. When we arrived we discovered that the train was already crammed with passengers, rich and poor, young and old, all squeezing and shoving their way into the crowded cars. Even the locomotive cab was occupied and we were only able to get into one of the cars when a policeman helped us find space in the rear of the train.

After much delay and great excitement, the train finally departed at nine o'clock, crawling along at a snail's pace. For the first part of the trip, all along the way, we could see the burned down structures which had once been railroad stations and now consisted of piles of ash and stone. The telephone poles had been destroyed and, for miles around, the farms were barren and covered only with grass.

Soaked By Rain

That night, at six o'clock, we arrived at Shangchow where the train stopped. It was raining hard and all the passengers were soaking wet for, like all the trains on the Lunghai railway, every car was an open freight car. Drenched as we all were and heavy as the rainfall was, nobody left the train for fear that he should be left behind were it to leave. Without umbrellas or mats to cover us, my companions and I jammed together as close as we could, throwing an old blanket over us.

We passed the night in this manner and by morning the rain had ceased. Everybody was anxious to get started when one of the passengers spread the story of the Communists destroying part of the railway between Hwangkow and Yunglow during the night. This piece of news was a sore disappointment to all the travelers. Like prisoners, we all looked and felt quite glum and nobody cared to talk much. I forgot about everything else in the world and only felt that "to wait" in this manner was one of the most agonizing experiences on earth. The only desire any of us had was to have the train continue its journey.

By noon, however, the damage was repaired. The train resumed its trek and along this section of the railway we came across many special military trains bound for Kaifeng and Chengchow. A passenger train such as ours was bound to be halted time and time again to let these more vital vehicles go by. Almost every station saw us halting and waiting for an hour or two.

When night fell we were at the Hwanghow station, about 30 miles west of Hsuchow. It was a small station and we saw no people other than hordes of Nationalist soldiers.

The next morning, September 23, we reached Hsuchow where the tickets for the Tientsin-Pukow railway were all sold and so we had to stay in the station an entire day there waiting for an available train. The next day, at nine in the morning, we caught a third-class passenger train leaving for Pukow.

Road Blown Up

We reached Soohsien by noon and were immediately informed that the road ahead had been blown up by the Communists the night before and was now under repair. Once again we prepared ourselves for more delay. The rain began to fall again, even heavier than the previous one. Most of us tried to sleep in the train but the best any of us could accomplish was to doze off now and then. By the middle of the afternoon some of us tried to buy food but there were no vendors to be seen. Later, a few appeared and crowds of passengers accosted them by rushing out through the open train windows to buy a slice of bread. Most were unsuccessful as the food for sale was quite scarce.

As night came on there was still no news about the train renewing operations. Many of the passengers, by now, were grumbling about the incompetent and lazy workmen who were supposed to be fixing the tracks. This attitude quickly changed when it was announced that the repair work had been completed and everyone settled down, though anxious to get started once again.

Fifteen minutes, a half hour passed and still the train did not move. The passengers lost their tempers and a group went to see the stationmaster who informed them that the train would not leave until daylight. It seems that it was too dangerous a trip to go southward at night. So, once more, the long tedious task of sitting and waiting had to be done.

The rain continued to come down and more than 2,000 people remained jam-packed in the train with a never ending noise of crying children, quarreling military officers and the groaning of the elderly. The air was sultry and dank and we were on the verge of semi-suffocation.

Just before sunrise on the 25th, a far off explosion was heard and it was soon announced that the Communists had blown up two bridges five miles south of Soohsien. All was lost. We now gave up all hope of continuing this nerve wracking journey. I found the stationmaster to find out if there was any possible way of at least sending us back to Hsuchow. All he could advise us to do was to spend another night in the train and wait for further developments.

The next morning, however at about eight o'clock, the train started southward. A new ray of hope ran through the ranks of the weary members of travelers. Once again, our sorrow and difficulties were forgotten in the hope that now we could make our objective. Again, en route, we could see many special trains transporting soldiers northward, the men who were being sent up to reinforce the already doomed city of Tsinan. And so, just as a day or two previous, we were blocked by the great influx of troop trains and our train drew to a halt when we reached the station at Foolingtsi, north of Soohsien, which was crowded with military trains.

We lost our tempers when we were told that we could not pass until the next day. The officers on the train especially were bitter and they surrounded the ticket office in an attempt to browbeat and argue our train into being allowed to continue. All to no avail and the station master refused to give in.

Drowned In Pleasure

This station was quite small and it was said to be in great "danger." The officers in our party were outwardly quite frightened and one of them proposed that we try to go back to Hsuchow, but it was too late at night. So all the passengers once again squeezed back into their now familiar cramped quarters and spent the night fearful of each approaching minute.

Nothing happened to warrant our terror and at seven on the morning of the 27th the train resumed its journey and arrived at Pengpu at one in the afternoon. Everyone was relieved and relaxed for we had now gotten into a "safe area." However, just outside of Pengpu we had passed a locomotive and four cars turned over and the tracks uprooted, as a result of a recent Communist bombing. We could scarcely believe our eyes but it was right in front of us. Our restored courage and hope began to wane but nothing further occurred to mar our journey and we arrived at Nanking at five-thirty in the afternoon.

The trip from Nanking to Soochow was a revelation to us, bedraggled and weary. For now were to be seen finely dressed ladies, high buildings and people who seemed to be unaware of the terrors which lay so close to them and their fragile world. We too were taken in by all this, and all the hardships and difficulties we had met were left behind in the back of our minds. Could we be blamed? Here we found no traces of war. It seemed as if the people of South China were drowning in wine, love and pleasure.

Inertia: One Hope For Peace

Jacques Decaux

Paris (by airmail).

IN a world turned upside down, there is a lot of room for comment and we can safely bet that the historian of the future will be taxed to the utmost in trying to render intelligible what is not. Certainly, recent events in France are far from intelligible, and follow no logical pattern whatsoever. A fortnight ago, Socialist Minister of the Interior, Jules Moch, announced during a party meeting that the French Communists were receiving from their mother organization some 30,000,000 francs weekly to be spent for anti-nationalist activities. Moch insisted that his information on this was reliable, and moreover, that the chancelleries were helping the Cominform in its work of destruction.

De Gaulle Victory

The recent elections in France were a large-scale victory for de Gaulle's RPF. Among the losers were the Socialists, who knew well that this election would only serve to show how great was the loss in their following, and the Popular Republicans of Catholic tendency, who unhappily dissipated their strength in trying to be all things to all men and in having nothing in common with the policies of other parties. The third defeated group of significance was the Communists, who tried to minimize their loss by claiming in their usual fashion that the elections had been "undemocratic." The all-over significance of this election was in the fact that it showed a definite desire on the part of the French people to have a strong government capable of meeting the present international and economic crises. It also showed a trend in French political thinking toward old fashioned moderation.

There are many moderate parties in France bearing different titles, nearly all of which are opposed to socialism in its present form (which is neither communistic nor moderate) and nearly all are ready to forget quarrels about laity, a subject which the Socialists were willing to fight over every day of the week. Finally, this trend showed a definite disappearance of the so-called Third Force political parties born of the Resistance, and indicates a regrouping of their elements along more traditional lines.

There seems to be greater political unity in France now, and this new unity will certainly cause the dissolution of the National Assembly very soon after it reconvenes. This is unavoidable because all National Assembly decisions will be obstructed by the newly elected majority of the Council of the Republic. From this it can be seen that the Republicans and the Socialists will be thrown out of power by those very instruments which they themselves had fashioned, the postwar Constitution and the electoral laws.

In the international field, the explosive Berlin question is being studied with little success by the Security Council. The French delegation intends to try any and all means of finding a solution to the deadlock. If it cannot, it will ask that the Security Council motion be so termed as to avoid any ambiguity on the case history of the Berlin blockade. Meanwhile, this threat to international peace and the threat of the "rotating strikes" in France and Western Europe show the great need

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for some common action by the countries concerned. A common military defense, with Montgomery in command, and French General de Lattre de Tassigny as Second in Command, has been established, but from France's point of view this leaves much to be desired. One reason is that after three years of concentrated effort (uninterrupted by strikes), the most France could produce would be 60 divisions to oppose Russia's 250. This inescapable lack might be remedied by definite US commitments, but the US would rather organize an Atlantic Alliance to act as a sort of Great Wall of protection to herself. France is not enthusiastic about participating in any such alliance, since it would mean that she herself would be the front line of the defense.

Upon hearing talk of Canada's participation in the Alliance, France quickly sensed that in the case of aggression, the US and Canada might very well decide to stand together rather than *ipso facto* declare war on the aggressor if the victim were far enough away—on the other side of the Atlantic, for instance. Moreover, while England wants the controlling hand in the Alliance, it is not to be assumed that the US wishes her to have it. While England is a far cry from her former strong self, when one considers France's present weakness, there does not seem to be any other European power in a position to challenge her right now.

Hope Exists.

Thus, at present, French diplomacy, backed by a weak government, incapable of stopping labor disturbances or of putting the country's economy on a stable footing, is faced with the same problem as before, i.e. of trying to arbitrate East-West differences, of patching them up whenever possible, and of trying to put off as long as possible that split which would have such tragic consequences. However tense the situation may be, however desperate the whole picture looks, a Frenchman may be forgiven for believing that as far as his country is concerned, there is some hope. One reason is that ordinary *bon sens* may win out in the end in a national strife which is as devoid of all logic as this is: the present strikes, however justified, do not carry wild enthusiasm on the part of the strikers who see themselves in a dangerous spot if they allow themselves to be maneuvered much longer by political bosses. Another reason is that, as contacts with many UN delegates prove, while there may be no belief in the UN's achieving anything lasting, there is the possibility of war's being avoid from sheer inertia.

There is nothing more dangerous in international politics than ardor and desires to achieve changes for the better, and for lack of these treacherous generous impulses, the verbal sparring may last indefinitely. . . "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me!"

The Week's Business

THE week ending Tuesday, November 9, saw economic conditions in Shanghai worsening rapidly. It was the first week of un-frozen prices and while after the lifting of the rigid but unrealistic price control, shelves of most stores were refilled again, prices went up rapidly. In other words, the inflation gained in tempo whereas control by the authorities was practically non-existent. In the food markets, prices were very high and rice was almost unobtainable. It became evident that the authorities had done nothing to prepare for such an emergency.

Meanwhile, the advice of the American Embassy to Americans here to quit Shanghai if they had no compelling reasons for remaining, impressed the market nearly as much as the worsening of the National Government's military position. The city was shocked. Chinese as well as foreign businessmen at first believed in the possibility of Shanghai being occupied by the US Navy and Marines, but when on Monday, November 8, the rumor was denied quite categorically, even those who had been hopeful for some time, abandoned hope. Since they did not doubt that the various denials were genuine and that the American authorities had not discussed any such plans, they understood that in the case of further Communist victories foreign investments in Shanghai are to be considered total losses.

Such considerations, of course, impressed what little business could still be carried out. With Shanghai facing the worst crisis in its history, with the new money inflation gaining in speed much faster than the first one, and with the military position deteriorating, it was natural for the real estate market to become dull whereas the demand for movable values was intensified.

Reports stated that the demand on the blackmarket for gold increased considerably and the gold-dollar cross rate advanced drastically.

However, although regular exports were almost impossible—some round-about transactions may have been carried out—the Government throughout the week under review failed to announce new exchange rates. Officially, the US dollar remained worth four Gold Yuan whereas prices were 400 percent to 600 percent above their August 19 levels. In a few fields, price increases even reached more than 800 percent.

When, by the middle of the week, it became evident that the authorities were considered powerless to control the city, businessmen felt that as practically nothing was being done to improve the situation and to provide food for the people (at reasonable prices), one must reckon with all possibilities. They therefore advocated a complete lifting of all restrictions as the only, though certainly not ideal, way out of the chaos.

However, apparently, the authorities in charge hope to be able to stick to the regulations and restrictions which have proved utter failures. Although it was reported that for certain purposes the Central Bank was granting more realistic rates than the outdated four-to-one exchange rate, no such modifications were announced officially. From a legal point of view, blackmarkets were still forbidden and even a tolerated private exchange market was out of the question. Businessmen explained that while no one would import food and other essentials for his own foreign exchange so long as he was bound to receive and keep GY currency, there might be a chance for private commercial activities if the blackmarket would at least turn grey.

Businessmen also made it clear that when it was possible for the Allies to feed the millions of Berlin's residents in spite of the existing difficulties, similar means could be applied here if there were less red tape and less sticking to outdated methods. They pointed out that although money cannot improve the military position it certainly can help avoiding riots and revolts in the big cities. For such a function, however, markets must be free.

When during the weeks of ceiling prices, of arrests, and of near terroristic methods, Shanghai's trade was paralyzed, the present state of affairs quite rightly has been called an atavistic downfall to a jungle economy. Of the various reasons provoking this relapse, one is the inactivity of the authorities in charge, businessmen stated and added that finding examples of a similar lack of efficiency and power to come to fundamental decisions certainly would be a very difficult task.

Confidence in improvements so long as the authorities adhered to their policy of doing nothing—in the economic field—was so slight that some store prices were fixed from day to day simply by increasing them about 50 percent.

In other words, prices such as fixed during the afternoon hours "for tomorrow" and applied during the rest of the short business day were 50 percent higher than at the time when the store had opened for business.

It was quite natural that under such conditions, mill production declined drastically (between 40 percent and 75 percent), while consumption of consumer goods, too, dropped to a low level. Indeed, most textile stores did not open their doors at all. Sales of imported basic materials on the wholesale market were curtailed to an extent never experienced before.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Gimo Determined To Fight On; Concern Over Future Of Shanghai

THE battle of Hsuchow is being watched with the closest possible attention. It is generally felt that the outcome of the battle, upon which depends the fate of Nanking, will have a far-reaching bearing on the future of China's civil war.

According to *Central News*, the Nationalists have constructed a gigantic defense system revolving on Hsuchow as a "death trap" for the Communists who are expected to launch an offensive. Preparations for the forthcoming fighting are in full swing.

Latest reports indicate that more than 500,000 Communist troops under Generals Chen Yi, Liu Po-cheng and Chen Keng are closing in for the showdown battle in Central China. Chen Yi's units, which are regarded as the strongest Red armies in Central China, are now split into two columns driving southwards east and west of Hsuchow.

A communique issued by the Ministry of National Defense disclosed that frontal skirmishes between Government troops and the Communists have taken place on the outskirts of Liencheng and Hsinan, 70 miles northeast and east of Hsuchow and that local clashes had taken place near Pengpu, 120 miles north of Nanking.

In North China, press reports stated that Red troops from Manchuria are pouring in increasing numbers into Hopei in preparation for the forthcoming big push. Over 20,000 Communists, moving via south Chahar, are said to have reached Tsunhua and another group numbering 15,000 have arrived at Yutien, northwest of Tongshan. A third group of unknown numerical strength are reported to be assembling at Funing, north of the important town of Changli, on the Peiping-Mukden Railway.

* * *

Full Power

IN view of the gravity of the present situation, President Chiang Kai-shek in an unprecedented move gave General Fu Tso-yi full power to direct military operations in the North China theatre. This confirmed the belief in some high Government circles that the recent military reverses had persuaded the Generalissimo to relax some of his personal control over all national affairs. Quarters who have constant contact with President Chiang said lately he has shown a hitherto unseen inclination to release to his subordinates many of the powers which he had kept to himself but which actually belonged to his subordinate. This is expected to result in greater freedom of decision by Government officials and army commanders.

Immense importance is attached by observers in Peiping to this decision. In the past, Fu has had to have Nanking's approval for almost every step he took. This virtually hamstrung him. Then, he did not have the best weapons that Nanking could provide, nor enough. Now that he has been given full powers, he could do anything he thinks fit.

* * *

Bitter Ender

IN spite of the recent military reverses and circulation of peace rumors, President Chiang Kai-shek reiterated his inflexible decision to fight on until ultimate victory is achieved. "There is no ground for compromise," he declared. "We are committed to fight to the last. The Government is not giving the slightest consideration to the possibility of a compromise."

Brushing aside all talk about a negotiated peace, the President said: "All peace rumors originated from a Communist peace offensive." Instead of expecting an easy and quick victory over the Communists as he has done on repeated occasions in the past, Chiang stressed that the Government was prepared for a long war to wipe out the Communists completely in China, which, he estimated, would take at least eight years. And he meant to fight to the bitter end.

President Chiang said it was "surprising" that Chinese intellectuals were agitating for peace and asked: "Did they ever think that peace would mean surrender by the Kuomintang? Whoever wants peace should go to Mao Tze-tung for it. It is unthinkable that even some legislators should have made the same absurd suggestion."

* * *

Japs Wanted

IN addition to American aid, some Government leaders feel that it is necessary to enlist the service of Japanese troops if the Communist tide in China is to be stemmed at all. According to *AP*, General Yen Hsi-shan, governor of Shansi, thinks North China can be saved, firstly, if General Douglas MacArthur sends 100,000 Japanese troops over to that part of China to fight the Reds, and secondly, if the "Flying Tigers" are revived under Major-General Claire Chennault with a force of 200 planes, mainly bombers manned by Americans

It was further revealed that Yen ventured the opinion that the Nationalists could recover Manchuria at a cost of US$50,000,000. However, he did not go into any details.

* * *

Evacuation Ill-Advised

MORE than 4,000 Americans in the Shanghai-Nanking district were advised by the United States Embassy to make preparations for evacuation unless they have compelling reason to remain. It is pointed out that military developments in North China make it appear possible that hostilities may spread further south, with the result that normal transportation facilities from Shanghai may be disrupted. Also, with the approach of winter and the increasingly acute shortage of food supplies and fuel, those remaining in Shanghai and its environs may be subjected to undue hardships. Latest information reveals that very few Americans are leaving and most of them want to wait and see how the situation is going to turn out before making their final decision.

A high Chinese Government official in Nanking described this evacuation circular as an "ill-considered step showing an unhealthy safety complex and totally unwarranted by the present circumstances."

The official said the "danger from which American nationals are advised to run away also is a danger to American national security. The United States should do well to find out ways of meeting the danger rather than run away from it."

* * *

Shanghai's Future

WITH the war spreading rapidly southward, the future status of Shanghai has aroused much interesting speculation. Vice-Admiral Oscar Badger, commander-in-chief of United States naval forces in the Western Pacific stated at a press conference in Shanghai that the United States Navy might send marines into Shanghai "purely as a protective measure if disorders should break out." He pointed out that United States marines could go ashore anywhere without provoking an international incident since they are recognised by international law as a protective force of American nationals in time of emergency.

One press story had it that the Chinese Government had offered to make Shanghai an international city. But Dr. Hollington K. Tong, Director of the Government Information Office, categorically denied any proposal of making an open city of Shanghai. A responsible official of the Executive Yuan also dismissed the report as "wishful thinking" and most unlikely to be realized.

Meanwhile, a State Department spokesman in Washington denied that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had offered to restore the extraterritorial rights of the United States in Shanghai if America would protect the city.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

Economic Weekly

Hsing Yao-chih, in an article published in the *Economic Weekly* of November 4, 1948, paints a gloomy picture of China's future economic conditions and points out that the new Gold Yuan is going the way of the old fapi.

After analyzing the dramatic about-face in the Government's price policy during the past two months, from strict price control to free marketing, Hsing calls serious attention to the danger of inflation of the Gold Yuan.

"According to official reports, the Gold Yuan notes issued up to October 31, 1948 totaled GY1,595,386,691, of which GY638,634,196 were issued in October. Needless to say the new currency is being inflated at a much greater speed than was the old fapi. If we take the trouble to look into the matter a little more closely we will find the following remarkable features:

"First, in estimating the total amount of money in circulation it is necessary to take into account the old fapi notes which are still in circulation on the market throughout the country. By September 30, 1948, the total note issue of the Gold Yuan was GY960,000,000. If the amount of fapi then in circulation (about GY140,000,000 in value) was added the total note issue would amount to GY1,100,000,000, representing an increase of 500 percent as compared with the early days of the currency reform.

"Recently, the total note issue of the Gold Yuan advanced to GY1,600,000,000. If the fapi notes in circulation was added, the total would increase to GY1,700,000,000. In other words, it constituted an increase of 850 percent. This is the first time we have witnessed such a thing in 10 years.

"Secondly, in the first few weeks of the currency reform a large amount of the Gold Yuan notes was issued in exchange for gold and foreign currencies surrendered by private owners. In the month of September, this amount constituted about two-thirds of the total note issue, while other Government expenditures amounted only to GY200,000,000, representing only 20 percent of the total note issue. In October, the situation was vastly different. It was generally estimated that only GY100,000,000 worth of gold, silver and foreign currencies was turned in. The proceeds obtained from the export excess was only US$17,000,000 or GY70,000,000. The total note issue of the Gold Yuan in October reached GY640,000,000. If the two items given above were deducted from the total note issue, the balance of GY470,000,000 was of course used in covering Government expenditures. Thus, it will be seen that the money used to meet the deficit in October formed approximately 30 percent of the total Gold Yuan note issue. But in September it was only 20 percent.

"This is the old story of the inflation of the fapi. If things are allowed to go at the present speed, it is only to be expected that the maximum note issue of the Gold Yuan" (GY2,000,000,000) as fixed by the Government will be reached by the last two weeks of November.

"Now we are right back where we were before August 19, 1948. Besides, the situation at present is much more complicated and more serious than it was before the currency reform. A "vicious circle" is most likely to aggravate the whole situation.

"First, there is the price-finance-currency vicious circle. As commodity prices continue to go up, the Government's expenditures are sure to increase by leaps and bounds with the result that the deficit in the budget will certainly become bigger. Since there is no other way of raising money to meet this deficit, it is expected that more Gold Yuan notes will be issued. Thus, inflation of the Gold Yuan will boost commodity prices.

"Second, there is the wage-cost-price problem. In order to insure continued production, it is absolutely necessary to maintain a certain sort of balance between prices and the cost of production. Under present circumstances, the sharp rise in prices necessitates an immediate readjustment in wages. However, any increase in wages will inevitably add to the cost of production, which in turn will lead to further gain in commodity prices.

"Third, there is also the foreign exchange-price-trade cycle. Once the foreign exchange rate is increased as it ought to be if it is to become realistic to meet the actual market conditions, prices on the home markets will pick up. Any increase in prices adds to the cost of production and makes legitimate exports and imports more difficult. In order to remedy the situation, the foreign exchange rate has to be revised. Thus we see a merry-go-round all the time."

* * *

Reconstruction Review

The *Reconstruction Review* of October 25, 1948 carries a strong protest by a group of Chinese writers against the suppression of a free press.

Commenting upon the recent suspension of the *Cheng Yien Pao* and other publications, the writers said: "In the face of this unprecedented crisis facing press circles, we cannot remain silent. Neither from the viewpoint of the freedom of the press nor in the interest of democracy can we pass over the matter in silence. We have on several occasions made urgent appeals for abolition of the Press Law. But the Government does not heed public opinion and continues to make use of the Press Law to tighten its control over newspapers and magazines. . .

"From the legal point of view, the *Cheng Yien Pao* incident shows that the Ministry of the Interior had abused its authority and the Shanghai Municipal Government acted contrary to the law. Granting that the *Cheng Yien Pao* was guilty of 'editorial indiscretion,' this was a case of libel and the proper thing to do was to ask it to print a correction. The Minister of the Interior did not weigh the case intelligently and ordered the suspension of the paper for three days. What legal basis was there for this action?"

Then, the writers proceed to point out the special significance of the ban on the *Cheng Yien Pao* and other publications. "Generally speaking, the disciplinary action taken against the *Cheng Yien Pao* and the *Ta Chung Yeh Pao* differed in significance from the previous suppression of anti-Kuomintang papers such as the *Sin Mia Wan Pao*, and the *Wen Hui Pao*. The present indicates that the use of press suppression has led to a purge among the ranks of the party itself.

"We all know that the directors of both the *Cheng Yien Pao* and the *Ta Chung Yeh* Pao are closely connected with the present Government. A study of their background shows that despite their somewhat radical views on current issues, their violent attacks on bad conditions, the two papers are basically supporters of San Min Chu I, true comrades of the Kuomintang and loyal servants of the present administration which they may have cause to criticize. But even so, they are not tolerated by the authorities. This is a fact of tremendous significance. . .

"In September 1948, we addressed an open letter to the Legislative Yuan setting forth our reasons for demanding the repeal of the Press Law. Our love for democracy and our concern about the freedom of the press are genuine. But since the resumption of the Legislative Yuan session recently, there has been little news about the debate on the Press Law. What the inside story is no outsiders can know. . .From current developments it seems quite clear that the Legislative Yuan is not to be trusted.

"It seems that for the promotion of democracy and for the safeguarding of the people's personal liberties, no other course is open except for the awakening of the masses of the people so that they may be rallied in a joint struggle with the progessive elements among the intellectuals."

US Magazine Roundup

Saturday Evening Post

IN the *Saturday Evening Post* of September 25, 1948, in an article entitled, "Is Our Navy Trapped in China?" Darrell Berrigan discusses the views of a typical American, Yeoman First-Class, Pat Maley, and of Vice-Admiral Oscar Badger, Commander of United States Naval Forces in the Western Pacific.

"Yeoman First-Class Pat Maley is a young American with a good-looking face marred slightly by the kind of expression a guy gets when his best pal has done him dirt. The good looks Pat acquired naturally back in Kansas. The expression of pained cynicism he acquired in Tsingtao during the past year.

'When I first came here,' Pat explained bitterly, 'I felt sorry for the Chinese. They were so damned poor, and the little kids were as ragged and dirty as the devil. I used to shell out to every beggar that came along, and do it gladly. But then they cheated me and robbed me—I lost my wallet to a kid no taller than my belt buckle—and they just didn't appreciate anything a guy did for them. Why, the damn beggars bawl you out if you don't give 'em enough dough! We come over here an' give 'em food and help 'em fight their war, and what happens? They steal us blind and complain because we're not given' 'em enough. I don't know why the hell we stay here an' help 'em out!' According to Berrigan, Pat Maley was stating the majority opinion of American sailors stationed in Tsingtao.

In discussing Admiral Badger's position, Berrigan outlines the present situation in Shantung Province where the Chinese Communists have virtual control of the entire province except Tsingtao. Berrigan writes, "Today, with Russia and the United States looking bayonets at each other across the nations of the world, it is the Navy's job, among other things, to see that Russia doesn't profit too much from the Civil War. That is the fundamental reason behind every item in the directive handed to Admiral Badger by the Joint Chiefs of Staff before he took over command of the Western Pacific last February.

"The non-secret parts of the admiral's directive say nothing about Russia, however. The admiral and his fleet are to support the foreign policy of the United States in the Far East; render protection to United States citizens, property and trade; exercise diplomatic functions, and maintain friendly relations with foreigners in the advancement of international understanding and peace. In addition, they are to assist China in her postwar recovery—do whatever possible to improve her economy.

"American foreign policy in the Far East is based on a desire to prevent communism from spreading farther into Asia and, if possible, push it back behind the borders of Soviet Russia, whence it came."....

"If you bring up these reasons to Maley and his pals....they flag you down with an impatient hand."

"'Yeah, we know; We know!' they say. 'So there's gonna be a war! But why the devil should we stay in this place? Tsingtao is gonna be another Pearl Harbor. What have we got? About five thousand marines and a lotta Chinese we can't trust. The Russians could f-- down here in a couple of hours and wipe us out'...."

The article continues by quoting Admiral Badger: "'Our force is not large enough to participate in a war. But it is sufficient to protect American lives and interests here'...."

Berrigan says, "In other words, the admiral doesn't expect to engage in a major war. His chief interest is in giving China whatever help short of active participation in the civil war the Navy is authorized to give, in the hope of preventing a bigger war from developing."

Berrigan goes on to say that a decision will have to be made very soon if the Communists continue their rapid sweep and decide to clean the port of Tsingtao out of their path.

Concluding the article, the author points out that "whatever the decision, it will not be made for the sake of the moiling mass of Chinese, who seem almost unaware of the danger that lies outside their city's defenses. Maley may think it's all a matter of philanthropy, but the decision will be based on a considerably more selfish set of reasons, however much the Chinese benefit from our actions. Tsingtao is a fragment in an infinitely larger political and military picture, but a fragment of considerable importance to the whole. It is China in microcosm."

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Foreign Policy Association Report

IN the *Foreign Policy Association Report* of November 5, 1948 Dr. Harold H. Hutcheson, professor of economics it Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia discusses the problem of underdeveloped areas of the world trying to raise their standards of living. According to Dr. Hutcheson the governments and peoples in underdeveloped areas of the world are working and planning as never before to achieve higher standards of living by diversifying and expanding their production.

The article continues by saying that most countries in the underdeveloped areas, which include Latin America, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Oceania, and a large part of Asia, are now emphasizing industrial development. Many of these areas are now growing more food and developing transport and communications facilities. In many of these countries, programs to improve public health, sanitation and housing have already borne fruit by a lowering in the incidence of disease.

The basic difficulty as pointed out by Dr. Hutcheson is the "marked lack of balance" between increasing human population and natural resources such as water power, minerals, fuels and arable lands. However, the report continues, to help solve the difficulty, underdeveloped areas can draw on the technological knowledge of industrial nations and spread new skills and techniques by general education "extending to all classes of the population."

Touching on a problem of special interest to China, the author observes that some nations have imposed controls on foreign trade and barred foreign investments in their new industrial enterprises. "The import of capital and technology and exchange of goods and services with other areas are vitally necessary to promote greater efficiency and more rapid development. Emphasis on locally owned enterprise is understandable, but where this objective is sought by legislation which penalizes the activities of foreign industrialists, either through expropriation without proper compensation, or by rules and regulations that are highly discriminatory in their effect, the net result may well be a social loss for the country concerned."

Dr. Hutcheson continues by saying that there is world-wide interest in efforts toward economic advancement in underdeveloped areas. In Latin America, most governments have created such things as special banks, institutes and national councils to promote the development of particular industries, and some countries have drafted general plans for economic development. The report points out that, in general, "emphasis has been on the development of basic resources—power and transport facilities, agriculture and mining, etc.; the trend has not been as in Eastern Europe, to formulate at the outset an all-inclusive, detailed plan for rapid transformation of the national economy."

With regard to the Far East, the report states that wartime destruction and political unrest since the war "have greatly complicated the problems of economic development," particularly in China, Burma, Indonesia and the Malay States. Dr. Hutcheson points out that in contrast to these countries, India and Pakistan "have lost no time in formulating policies and programs for the expansion and diversification of production." Ceylon "has made rapid progress" in drafting an economic program, and "Afghanistan is already implementing a 10-year development program, with large outlays envisaged for highways, irrigation projects and hydro-electric plants."

What US Papers Say

THE reelection of Harry S. Truman as President of the United States on November 2 was the major topic of editorials in last week's US press, particularly in view of the fact that most public opinion polls and press opinion had predicted an overwhelming Dewey victory. Soviet Russia's policy toward Japan and the revolt in South Korea were also editorialized.

* * *

Truman Re-election

THE US press, representing all shades of political opinion, joined in urging national unity behind President Truman, the choice of a majority of the people to lead the nation for the next four years.

Analyzing the popular forces which led to Mr. Truman's victory in the face of adverse predictions by political "experts," most newspaper comment saw revitalized labor and farmer support—always a source of Franklin D. Roosevelt's strength—as important factors in the swing toward the Democrats. Editorials also saw a victory for the Administration's bipartisan foreign policy in the election, with the wide repudiation of "isolationists" on the one hand and of the Wallace Progressive Party on the other.

The *New York Times* said in part: "Mr. Truman has confounded the prophets and won in his own right the great office of the presidency, to which he succeeded in 1945. His victory is a personal triumph, accomplished in the face of apparently heavy odds and despite the fact that both the left wing and the right wing of his own party deserted him. As we said at the time of his nomination, we honor him for his advocacy of the policies that led to these desertions. It was his firm stand against further appeasement of Soviet Russia that prompted Mr. Wallace to take one faction of the Democratic Party into the wilderness of an unacknowledged coalition with the Communists. It was his support of an honorable program of broadening the scope of American civil liberties that prompted the 'States' Rights' rebellion in the South. Both policies cost Mr. Truman Democratic votes. But both policies did, and do, him credit. His victory is the more remarkable in that it was won in the face of these desertions. . . ."

The following excerpts indicate varying reactions in different parts of the country, some jubilant, some disheartened.

The *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Union:* "For Republicans genuinely interested in their country there is some consolation at least in the fact that the Democrats will control the next Senate. For the Democratic senators-elect favor a strong internationalist program (continuation of the Marshall Plan, for example) and a forward-looking program of progressive domestic legislation."

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: "This election clearly is a victory for the progressive principles and policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is dramatic proof of how deeply Roosevelt's conviction of government as an agent for the public welfare has imbedded itself in the thought of the American people."

The *Richmond* (Virginia) *News-Leader*: "What we have witnessed is an evidence that the socializing trend in American Government did not end with the death of Roosevelt or with the election of 1946."

The *Milwaukee* (Wisconsin) *Journal*: "And so the Democratic Party recovery gets under way. . . . The New Deal, which some people thought dead as a dinosaur, moves on. The seed that Franklin Roosevelt sowed becomes a new crop."

The *Jacksonville* (Florida) *Times-Union*: "Liberalism has the nation in its grip. The people of this country are through with the kind of politics that have been practiced in the past by the Republican Party. The GOP is finished until it finds new grounds to stand on."

The *Baltimore Sun*: "We have a remarkable agreement between the two major parties on the main course we shall pursue. As a guiding beacon, isolationism has been extinguished. We are agreed, also, that we must rehabilitate Western Europe and arm it if need be. The Wallace fiasco proves that the policy of the non-appeasement of Russia has practically unanimous support."

* * *

USSR Japanese Policy

RECENT Soviet allegations that General MacArthur has been abusing his power in Japan were considered by the *Washington Star* to suggest that Moscow may be preparing to "launch a diplomatic initiative toward Japan similar to those which it has been launching in Korea and Germany. The essence of this pattern seems to be an attempt to end military occupations by the Western powers under conditions which would favor Soviet aims."

Pointing out that Moscow has never liked the terms on which Japan was occupied by the victors in the last war, and that as a member of the 11 power Far Eastern Commission, which exercises an over-all supervisory role toward the military occupation of Japan, she has repeatedly tried to block Japanese recovery, the paper continues:

"Moscow's only successs thus far has been the negative one of blocking the negotiation of a peace treaty for Japan. General MacArthur has repeatedly voiced the desirability of such a settlement, and last year our Government took the initiative in proposing a peace conference on the full eleven-nation basis. To this, however, Moscow demurred. It insisted that peace-making for Japan be done solely by the Council of Foreign Ministers, restricted to the five "great powers"—America, Britain, China, France and Soviet Russia. This proposal would not only have frozen out the lesser victors but would have enabled Moscow to exercise a veto under a unanimity rule. So the Russian plan was emphatically rejected. Yet, without Russian participation, a peace settlement with Japan was deemed impracticable.

"Unlike the German situation, however, this deadlock was not unfavorable to us. In Japan we control the situation and can mould Japanese recovery much as we see fit. And the success of our recovery program is increasingly repugnant to Moscow. Hence, it is by no means unlikely that Soviet diplomacy may be preparing to raise the Japanese issue once more, if only for diversionary and propagandist purposes. Such an initiative would be logically linked with Soviet moves in Korea and with the situation in China, where the Communists appear to be getting the upper hand. Under these circumstances, Moscow's attitude toward Japan will bear watching."

* * *

Korean Revolt

SEVERAL papers, at the start of the recent revolt, in South Korea, hazarded the belief that it might be the forerunner of a "showdown" by which the Soviet-backed North Korean regime might attempt to take over the entire country. With reports that Rhee's Government has the revolt under control, the *Christian Science Monitor* editorially observed that the likely explanation of the revolt "is that it is one of a series of disturbances and tests of strength to be expected over an uneasy period while withdrawals (reportedly of the Russian troops from the North) take place and the UN decision on Korea is awaited. Whatever effect it may have, a little planned chaos may be more useful to Communist purposes than a fateful showdown at this point."

The *Minneapolis Morning Tribune* said: "What is going on in Korea can only be comprehended when viewed in connection with Communist gains in China and Communist activities in Burma, Malaya, Siam, Indo-China, the Netherlands Indies and the Philippines. Soviet aggression, in short, is not limited to Berlin, Austria, Greece, or the French political strikes. Sovietism is on the march in Asia as well as in Europe."

What Chinese Papers Say

HARRY S. Truman's re-election as President of the United States was regarded by many Chinese newspapers as a pleasant surprise although it had been previously agreed that a Republican victory would mean more aid to China. In analyzing the reasons for the unexpected success scored by Truman it was pointed out that the New Deal of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt still held a strong appeal to the American people. The recent developments in China's internal situation also drew much editorial comment.

* * *

Truman's Victory

THE independent *Ta Kung Pao* said that Roosevelt's New Deal had contributed considerably toward winning the election for Truman.

"The election of Truman," the paper stressed, "does not mean that the American people support Truman, but rather that they dislike Dewey and the group he represents. Although Dewey enjoyed the support of a large number of bankers and newspaper magnates, Truman had an invisible supporter in the late President Roosevelt, whose New Deal changed flooded areas into fertile fields and had given jobs to jobless people. As a matter of fact, very little of the New Deal remains today, but the American voters do not want Wall Street's free enterprise of the 19th century. The reason is quite obvious. They do not want to fall into the quagmire of unemployment and poverty. Therefore, what the American people have elected is not Truman, but the late Roosevelt's policy which Truman should have adopted.

"From the very beginning, the Republican Party had been sure of success. This is because, in the field of internal politics, the Republicans felt that the Democratic Party has been in power much too long and people would like a change. In the field of foreign relations, Dewey seemed to think that since the Republican Party is violently anti-Soviet the American people would support him. Dewey's criticisms on Truman's failure to aid the anti-Soviet countries produced an effect on the electorate which was contrary to what he expected, because what the American people are interested in is not military bases in Greece and Turkey, nor the Western European Union, but peace, prosperity and human rights. The Republican Party never understood this very obvious desire of the American people. This is the reason why the Republicans railroaded the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act through Congress, and pushed forward investigations of un-American activities in violation of the people's freedom. Though Truman did not have a brilliant record, he refused to sign the anti-labor bill. Moreover, he would rather have lost the support of the Southern states which discriminate against the Negroes than back down on racial equality. All this shows that he had a better understanding of the American people than did Dewey. . .

"In spite of the fact that American generals, admirals and captains of war industries are elated over the intensification in the cold war between the East and the West, the American people, who would have to bear the brunt of the fighting, thought otherwise. Anyone who promises to give them peace, even though he might not have been able to fulfill his pledge would have obtained the support of the American people. By voting for Truman they employed a relatively practical method of realizing their desire for peace."

The official *Chung Yang Jih Pao* also pointed out that Franklin D. Roosevelt's popularity and prestige was an important factor in getting Truman elected.

"From the Democratic victory in this presidential election we can see that the late President Roosevelt's heritage is still fresh in the memory of the American people. Truman met with many setbacks in the Republican-dominated Congress. So far as internal politics are concerned, Truman set forth an anti-inflation plan and advocated a controlled economy. He also refused to sign the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Bill, because he did not want to ignore the interests of the laboring classes. From this we can see that Truman had not completely discarded the progressive policy of the Democratic Party. At the present time, when the United States is enjoying an abnormal economic prosperity and when the world situation is so tense, it is only natural that the American people do not want to change horses in mid-stream."

In conclusion, the paper expressed the hope that the United States will pay greater attention to the situation in the Far East. "We wish to point out that during the past three years US foreign policy has laid special emphasis on Europe and ignored the Far East. While strong anti-Communist measures have been taken in Europe, the United States has exhibited indecision in the Far East and has lacked a positive policy.

"The Far Eastern situation today is much more serious than it was at the time of the Mukden Incident. It has been pointed out in American newspapers that a Red Asia would present a great menace to world peace. We hope both the American Government and people will attach due importance to this warning and reconsider US policy in the Far East."

In a similar vein, the *Tung Nan Jih Pao* said: "If we make a careful analysis of the political situation in the United States we shall find that the re-election of Truman as President of the United States is not inexplicable. First, it indicates that the American electorate still highly value the glorious history of the Democratic Party and that they still cherish the memory of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. They are willing to pin their hopes on a Democratic Administration under Truman."

Then the paper stressed the gravity of the situation in China and suggested that the United States pay more attention to it. "As a result of the recent conquest of the whole of the Northeast by the Communist bandits, China is now faced with a critical situation similar to the Mukden Incident of 1931. Disturbances in the Pacific region will start with trouble in China's northeast. Today the United States is the only powerful upholder of peace and democracy under difficult conditions. . ."

* * *

Learn Lessons

THE *Sin Wen Pao* held that it is necessary to learn some lessons from the recent military and financial setbacks.

"President Chiang Kai-shek stated at the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang that we must accept the lessons of defeat. Since the Government authorities are open-minded, we wish to take this opportunity to make some suggestions.

"First, the Government must understand that the majority of the people in this country are innocent, law-abiding, though poor and wretched. Therefore the Government must not persist in thinking that most of those who are at school are professional students or youths ideologically questionable, or that every businessman is an unscrupulous merchant. As can be seen in the recent currency reform, the people willingly surrendered their gold and foreign currency holdings in exchange for Gold Yuan. This gives irrefutable proof of the people's readiness to cooperate with the Government. There has been similar cooperation in paying taxes and conscription. If in spite of all this, the Government still says that the people are not cooperative, it is doing the people a great injustice.

"Secondly, it is also necessary to establish a basic standard for distinguishing right from wrong. Reward and punishment must be given to those who deserve them. Whatever may be said of Premier Wong Wen-hao's devotion to duty, his cabinet must be held responsible for the recent catastrophe. Only through the immediate resignation of the Wong cabinet can the cabinet system be properly established in this country."

The Review's English Lesson—LVII

This week, the English Lesson will be devoted to a request received for definitions of the following underlined expressions:

a. This one fact alone was bound to **throw a monkey wrench into** much of the island's industry. A "monkey wrench" is a type of adjustable wrench; tossed into a machine by a saboteur, it will put the machine out of commission. Hence, to damage or wreck any plan, scheme or operation.

b. This last fellow was distinguished by a remarkable glazed belt buckle, the kind of thing motorcyclists back home would **"give an eye tooth for."** A figurative expression indicating that an object is much desired. Always used with the conditional, "would," since no one ever actually gives an "eye tooth" for something.

c. With strong determination to fight it out, he handled these big shots **without velvet gloves.** This phrase is most often used in the positive: "to handle someone with velvet gloves" is to manage, compel or treat a person extremely carefully, implying also that the hands in the gloves are powerful indeed. Used here, the emphasis is upon the manner of handling; elsewhere, as for example "He showed an iron hand under the velvet glove," the emphasis is upon the strength, brutality or firmness displayed by the doer.

d. The trial of Japanese war criminals in Tokyo was called a miserable **flop**, for which the United States was held responsible. "To flop" is to fall, or to throw oneself down, in a careless or ignominious manner. "He flopped on the bed"—carelessly threw himself down. A slangy word, it is used generally to express the failure of a pretentious enterprise, as "the play flopped" (or, "was a flop").

e. New economic regulations were promulgated, a currency conversion was begun and the Generalissimo sent his son to Shanghai, **to clamp on the lid** by any and all methods and at whatever cost was necessary. "Clamp" is to fix firmly and tightly; "lid" is top, or cover. This phrase means to repress with force any activity, usually illegal.

f. True, the currency has been converted, regulations aimed at stabilizing the economy have been promulgated, but the situation is still **touch and go.** "Touch and go" means extremely precarious, with "the situation" liable to change radically at any moment. The writer is implying that the currency conversion and economic regulations were not sufficient to guarantee a stable situation.

g. He had a financial plan last year which was accepted, but only after it **had been watered down.** 'To water down' probably originally had reference to the concrete action of diluting milk with water before sale for greater profit. It has been extended to express figuratively as in "watered stock" the result of the unscrupulous issuance of stock or bonds to a favored few as gifts, which results in loss of dividends, etc., by those who actually purchased stock or bonds. Thus, in general, the phrase means to render values, ideas or plans more feeble, usually by the removal of the more stringent points, by the insertion of points that nullify others, or by the exclusion of measures of enforcement.

h. The UN good-offices commission is still **sweating it out** in Batavia. Wartime Army slang, meaning to be forced to wait for an event or decision, without the ability to do anything to influence the outcome.

The reader also wishes to know the rule governing the use of a plural noun as an adjective, as in "communications system" and "Overseas Chinese." These two phrases could be expressed, "system of communications" and "Chinese from Overseas;" the shorter form has come to be accepted, in these and perhaps other cases. In the above example, "communications" implies various kinds of communication — radio, telephone, postal, etc., although the plural is hardly necessary. "Communication system" seems also to convey the idea of communication in general, hence also the idea of various methods of communication. "Overseas" above is plural simply because, by custom and usage, "Oversea" has come to have a poetic flavor. In general, it is better to have the adjective phrase "of..... follow the noun, as "system of communication(s)," "association of producers", unless it is a proper name, in which case the adjective is usually in the possessive. For example, there might be a ('Wusih Marketers' Association." In referring to this, one might say, for example, "this association of marketers. . . .'

In order to keep the *Review's English Lesson* aware of the kind of problems in English which most of our readers come up against it would be appreciated if suggestions as to what our readers feel should be included in each week's lesson would be presented to us.

It should be pointed out, however, that in many instances our readers send in requests for the meaning of a word or expression even after the same word or expression has already been explained in one of the *English Lessons.*

While we are always happy to define words and phrases which are not to be found in the dictionary, we would like to have some suggestions on what our readers feel the contents of each lesson should be made up of.—Editor

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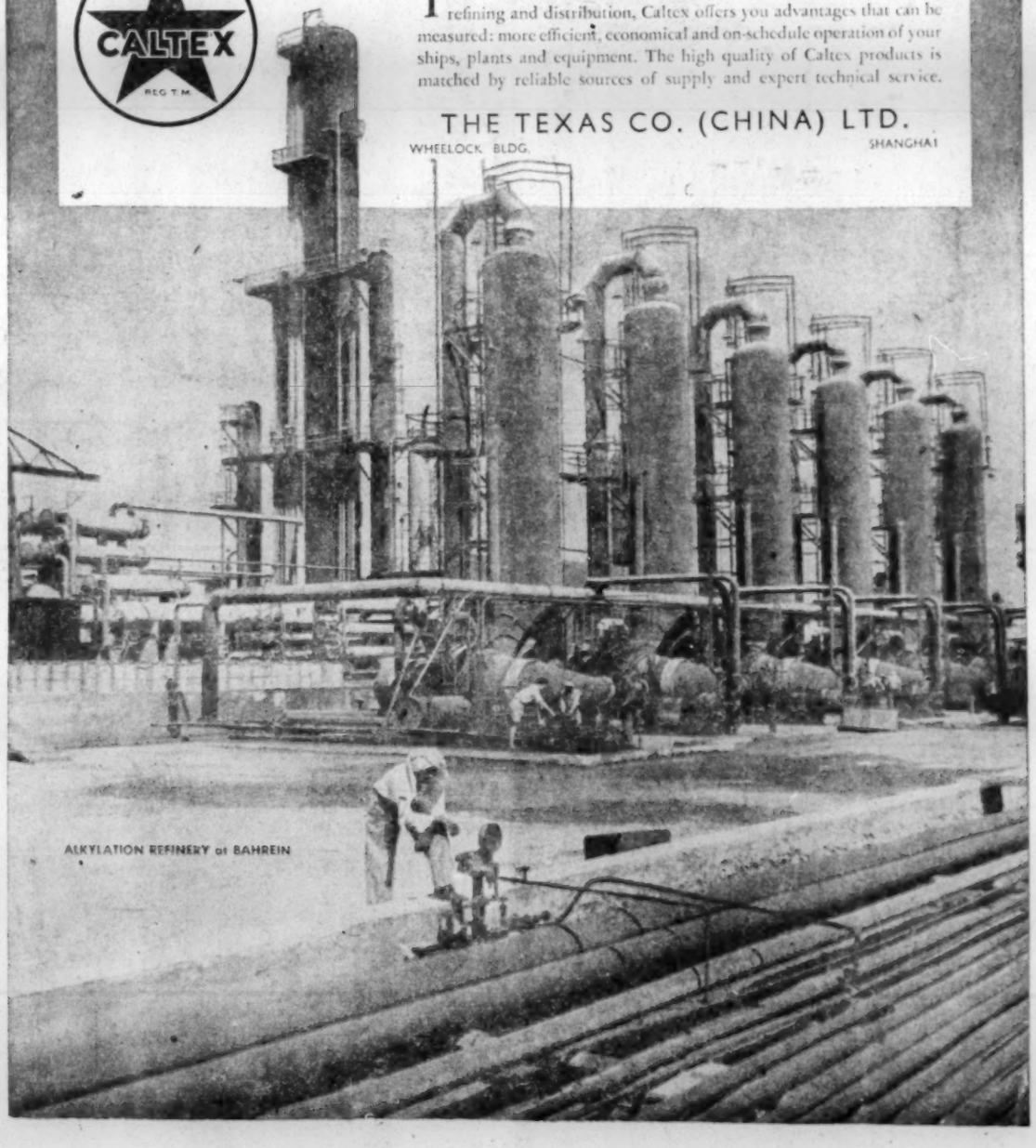

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